

**THE RESULT OF
THE BALLOT**

See page 105

ABYSSINIA !!!

See page 110

HEADWAY

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

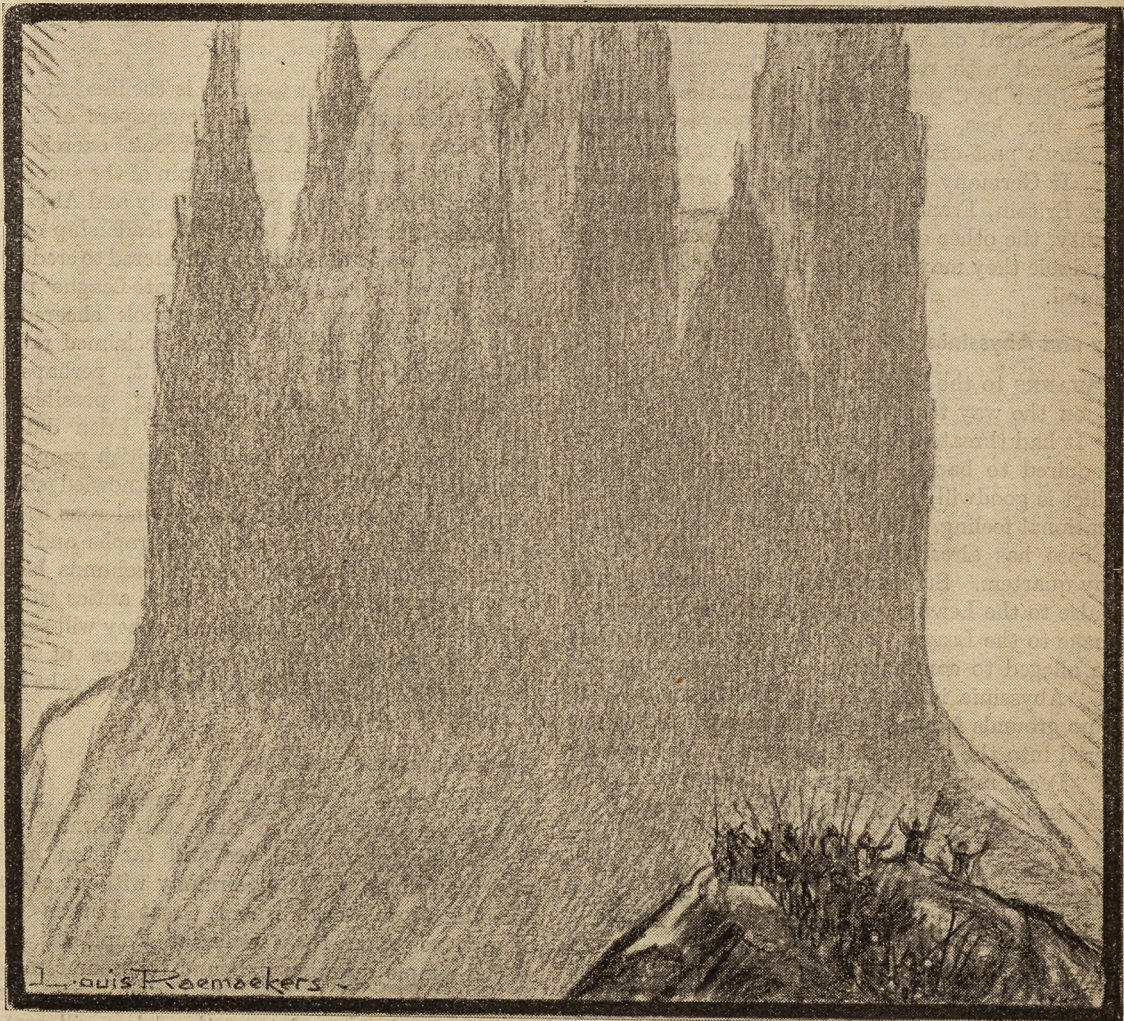
Contributions to HEADWAY are invited from writers with special knowledge of world affairs. The opinions expressed in contributed articles are not necessarily endorsed by the paper.

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"THE WORLD'S FORTRESS AGAINST WAR"



The War Makers : "We cannot succeed until we destroy those towers"

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Clearer Horizon

A MONTH ago Europe was apparently drifting towards disaster. An arms race had begun. Efforts to build an order of peace, within which all nations should be secure, were interrupted. To-day the horizon clears. Herr Hitler has declared that Germany is not fixed against a return to the League, nor has she refused to play her part in negotiating a scheme of general disarmament. Great Britain has responded to his implied invitation. Inquiries are being made to ascertain the exact meaning of his various proposals. The ground is being prepared on which formal negotiations may be resumed with real hope of a successful issue. Herr Hitler has, perhaps, said little that is new. None the less, by repeating comprehensively Germany's past offers, he has created a new situation. If Germany genuinely intends peace, and if Great Britain, France and Russia genuinely intend equality, the other obstacles to agreement, however formidable they may look, are no more than matters of detail.

Italy and Abyssinia

THANKS to the League, Italy and Abyssinia are on the way to settle peacefully their dispute. It had threatened to end in war; now all that is required to banish finally the spectre of armed conflict is goodwill, patience, and a little tenderness to national feeling. Italy is irritated. She suspects the case has already been judged against her in many quarters. Such prejudice, if it existed, would be false to the League spirit, and would do as grave damage to the League cause as any action Italy has been alleged to contemplate. The League has not said "Abyssinia is right" or "Italy is right." It has no grounds for any such judgment. It has not entered into the merits of the quarrel. It has only said "Peace must be preserved." League members, it has insisted, have an obligation to refrain from war. League members have the right to bring any threat of war to the League's notice. Italy's admission of the League's competence and of her own duty to conciliate or arbitrate is a loyal League service. She will further enhance her credit if between now and the time limit fixed by the League she deals with the claims and counter-claims between herself and Abyssinia on a footing of scrupulously equal justice.

Mr. Eden

ONCE more Mr. Anthony Eden has done well at Geneva. His most notable achievement is the Italo-Ethiopian negotiations. But he played the chief part also in bringing the Nazi majority in Danzig to recognise the League guardianship of the local minorities and in persuading the Hungarian Government to be stricter in its disciplinary measures against officials who have aided foreign terrorism. In these ways he has lessened two risks of European quarrels. The already long list of his successes grows impressively.

Press and Peace

ONE minor danger to peace is the illusion entertained abroad that the newspapers of Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook exercise an influence at home. One minor gain of the successful handling of the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia by the League Council, under the leadership of Mr. Anthony Eden, is the shock administered to credulous foreign readers of the British anti-League press. Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook cheered on Italy to defy the League. They acclaimed rapturously the League's final discredit, perhaps its dissolution. They did everything possible to persuade foreign opinion that Mr. Eden did not mean what he said and that the British people did not support him. When Italy acknowledged the competence of the League, their thunderous leading articles shrunk to twittering paragraphs and their displayed news features to single columns hidden away in inconspicuous pages. Such antics will not pass unnoticed on the Continent. They will suggest that no matter what the newspapers of Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook may say, to take them seriously is a mistake.

Germany and Mandates

DISARMED Germany is impossible in an armed world. We are still learning that simple lesson, and are still far from having paid the full price. Is a Germany without colonies possible in a world where Great Powers pride themselves upon their Colonial Empires? This second simple question is bound to become rapidly more urgent. Unless we find the right answer now, or in the near future, the delay will cost us dear.

June HEADWAY contains two articles on the subject, one by Lord Olivier, the other by Mrs. Yandell. They seem, but perhaps only seem, to give contradictory answers.

Lord Olivier is the foremost authority of the day on colonial administration. He is equally distinguished for his championship of the coloured races. The native peoples of the British Crown Colonies have no firmer friend. He attaches high importance to the mandatory system. He sees there the recognition of principles which must not be weakened, no matter how pressing the excuse. The return of her former colonies to Germany would, he is convinced, destroy present safeguards and future hope.

Mrs. Yandell, on the other side, says in Germany's own mind the former German colonies still belong to her. Germany will never rest content under a denial of colonial expansion. Either she will expand, or she will disrupt the world.

New Colonial Order

"IN what we assert," said a great thinker, "we are usually right; we are usually wrong in what we deny." Are not both Lord Olivier and Mrs. Yandell right on the positive side of their argument? The mandatory system marks by its mere existence a precious advance. It opens the way to immense progress in the future. Germany will not accept permanent exclusion. The one way to satisfy both native rights and German pride is to develop further the mandatory principle and to extend it step by step until it is a reality in all its implications through all the dependent tropical and sub-tropical regions of the globe. In a new colonial order thus generalised, Germany would find a natural and equal place. Widely based and strongly supported, such an order should be secure against perversion by unenlightened methods for selfish ends.

Japan Pays

GERMANY, Herr Hitler's speech has made plain, is prepared to come back to the League on terms. She would be glad to return, if her terms were granted. What of the other recent departure, Japan? Unhappily, there is no early prospect of Japan's realising that she can retrace her steps. Yet Japan has suffered by cutting herself off from the rest of the world and relinquishing her part in world affairs. Loneliness, bad for individuals, is bad also for nations. It stimulates egotism and makes suspicion seem a virtue.

As a consequence of the national policy, war psychology infects the Japanese mind. Freedom of opinion is extinct. "Dangerous thought," an elastic term covering everything distasteful to officialdom, is made dangerous for those who venture to practise it. Ultra-nationalist violence is employed to intimidate statesmen, industrialists and intellectuals; they risk their lives if they protest that another policy than the present would best serve Japan's interests. The budget

is overburdened with expenditure on armaments. The navy and the army, always restive in a rivalry derived from the clan feelings of the feudal age, bid against one another in their demands on the public purse. Warlike preparation absorbs the national resources.

The full evils of the course on which Japan has embarked are only beginning to declare themselves. But already things to come are taking an ominous shape. For her, no less than for the rest of the world, the necessary conditions for healthy development are to be found only in a loyal and active world-partnership.

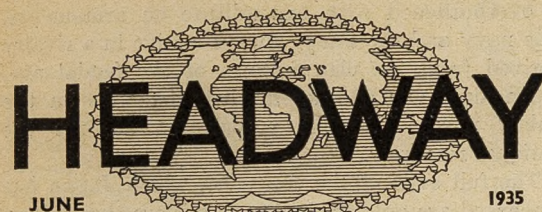
Arms Traffic

THE Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Traffic in Arms is holding its public hearings with all the deliberation due to its own dignity and to the importance of its subject. Viscount Cecil was the first witness. He has been followed by several others representative of different shades of Union opinion. That they have spoken with several voices only puts on public record the fact, already admitted, that in its details the arms traffic problem is complicated and difficult. But much more deserving of comment than any disagreement on detail has been the agreement on principle.

No one has seriously denied that the private manufacture and sale of arms involves grave dangers. By their questions the Commissioners have suggested that none of them doubts it. Public control must be established, operating through licence, inspection, publicity. That is the minimum required. In the highest degree desirable is an international system, set up by international agreement, operated under international authority. Perhaps experience will show the need also, if success is to be attained, not merely of State control, but of State monopoly. As the inquiry proceeds argument will centre in those alternatives. One thing is certain. No valid excuse will emerge for rejecting both of them and doing nothing to eradicate a very real evil.

International Relations

ON the last day of May was opened at the Guildhall, London, a National Conference on the Teaching of International Relations, convened by the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union. It was addressed by distinguished men and women who represented a wide variety of experience. Among them were Viscount Halifax (President of the Board of Education), Dr. W. W. Vaughan (former Headmaster of Rugby), Mr. P. G. Wilson (Headmaster of the City of London School), Professors Gilbert Murray, Charles Singer, C. B. Fawcett and C. B. Forde, and M. H. Bonnet (Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation), and M. J. B. Montenach (of the League Secretariat). In Britain at least International Relations, as the Conference demonstrated, is a live subject.



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THE GREATEST EVENT OF OUR TIME

There are some things which we order better in Great Britain. Among them are such occasions as His Majesty's Silver Jubilee. The public rejoicings on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the King's accession to the throne show British institutions and the British people at their best. The world has taken note of them with admiration. Foreign observers have commented on their spontaneous character.

There have been no words of command. Brilliant uniforms have given colour to the pageant, but the troops, who have contributed an essential note to the general decorative effect, have not suggested armed force. Like the police, they have stood for discipline, helpfulness, neighbourly good feeling.

The Jubilee celebrations have done more than demonstrate on what foundations of recognised national advantage, firm and wide, stands the ancient monarchy of Britain. They have given His Majesty the chance to address wise counsel to all his peoples, at home and overseas, in circumstances which make sure that all the world has listened. The King's speeches will be remembered as the most notable events of a notable week. Their timeliness has given them the quality of acts. They have helped the nation, and the Empire and the world, as well by what they have omitted as by what they have included. Not even by implication have they threatened the interests of any other country.

They have contained no glorification of force. They have paid generous tribute to the countless men and women in every corner of the globe who have laboured devotedly for the true greatness of Britain. They have held up to youth the ideal of wholehearted work in the country's cause. But the patriotism which they have praised is the opposite of the defiance, aggression and conquest which, unhappily, too often masquerade under its name. Recognising with thankfulness the plain fact that the British World Commonwealth of to-day is the most expensive and most successful political achievement in the history of mankind, they have signalled the open secret of its scale and its success in individual freedom, government by the consent of the governed, and the rule of law.

The Jubilee, prompting a declaration of well-founded confidence in Britain's future, invites also a survey of the past twenty-five years, with the purpose that its lessons may be learned and put to good use. The King's reign has seen, as His Majesty himself has

said, "escape from danger greater than ever before threatened our land." During it, King and people "have come through great trials and difficulties together." But if the struggle has been desperate, so has the reward been precious. A glance back to 1910 reveals world unity developing with a rapidity which brands as cowardice any loss of hope amid the passing troubles of to-day.

In 1910 the nations were arming for a world war, whose coming was nearly everywhere tacitly or openly accepted. Only a few ardent pacifists believed it could be prevented. For most men and women the one undecided question was the hour. In a succession of crises, they asked "Is it now?" They had no thought that the power was theirs to say "It shall be never"; and, indeed, since no institution existed through which their will to peace could be made effective by bringing the nations to a peaceful composition of all their quarrels, they effectually lacked the power. Nations lived in an international anarchy. A long view and a true view of their deepest interests would have kept them at peace. But there was nothing to prevent any nation heavily armed from attempting to snatch an immediate selfish advantage by using its arms.

Sooner or later temptation, in a form too strong to be resisted, was only too likely to be encountered. Or, perhaps, before the day of deliberate aggression arrived, suspicion and fear, which were increasing with every increase in armaments, might drive all the nations mad together, and they might rush headlong down the steep place to destruction. From 1910 onwards the drive towards war was littered with intentions pathetically good and pathetically helpless.

To-day, twenty-five years later, the nations are foolishly embarking on a new arms race. Their arms are vastly more destructive than were those they possessed a quarter of a century ago. War on the scale of 1914 would sweep away the existing social fabric. So much at least is sure.

Yet the danger to-day is less than the danger in 1910 because to-day the nations have at their command the means to avert war. They need only decide that they do not want war, that they will not have war, and, by utilising the League of Nations and fulfilling their obligations under the League Covenant, they can make war impossible. The institution exists through whose operation the will to peace of the peoples can become permanently effective.

No candid mind can review in memory the King's reign without perceiving what in many places has not been fully acknowledged during the past few weeks, that the world in 1935, despite its anxieties, is a happier and more hopeful place in which to live than was the world of 1910. In the intervening years the League has been set up and has given convincing proof, where it has been allowed the chance, of its adequacy to its supreme task of substituting co-operation for conflict. Says the *Times*, "the formal and nearly universal recognition of the ideas and needs by which the League was designed is no doubt the greatest single event the world has witnessed in our time."

The Jubilee has been an occasion of special pride for those who believe in the League and have worked for the League as the hope of the world.

A SECRET FOR THE ALBERT HALL

THE Peace Ballot has been a unique experiment: it has been carried through to a unique success.

On June 27 it will be given a fitting conclusion in a great public meeting in the Albert Hall. The meeting will be worthy of the achievement it commemorates. The vast seating capacity of the hall will be taxed to the utmost. Already the demand is showing how wise is the rule that admission shall be by ticket only, and is a warning also that the many thousands who are anxious to be present must not delay their applications.

A widespread, eager interest in such a meeting was inevitable. "The Peace Ballot," the official history of the great adventure, will be published the same evening.

The list of speakers is widely representative of British public life. Not often have so many spokesmen of different creeds and parties and classes been brought together on the same platform. Never have they been united in more complete loyalty to a greater cause.

The occasion is historic. How unprecedented is the Peace Ballot, in how many ways, has even now scarcely begun to be understood. It has meant the separating out of the supreme political issue of the times from all the conflicting claims which spring up at a General Election to distract the popular mind. It has meant debate and inquiry and the deliberate formation of a reasoned judgment in millions of homes. It has meant empanelling the British people as a jury and putting on indisputable record their verdict. The beneficial effects are already obvious, both nationally and internationally, of the encouragement given by the ballot to a resolute and consistent peace policy. What other

good results may follow remain unknown. But quite certainly the ballot will long increase the confidence and security of the world.

The meeting has a powerful attraction for a special audience capable of filling it several times over. It is the last incident in a gallant story. Even were the questions ill-advised, and the answers to them of no value, the army of voluntary workers who have laboured in the campaign would be in themselves wonderful evidence of a nation-wide, unselfish, anonymous devotion to the public good.

Within a twelvemonth, at a cost which is trivial compared with the work accomplished, the organisation of the ballot has been extended to every part of England, Scotland and Wales. More than one thousand local committees have been set up; half a million helpers have been enlisted; many millions of ballot forms have been distributed, explained, collected and counted. Men and women, young and old, who have given ungrudging weeks and unstinted effort to the task, look towards the Albert Hall meeting as the climax of a proud chapter in their lives. In the allocation of tickets the ballot volunteers will receive the preference to which they are entitled.

The meeting will enjoy the thrill of learning a secret. Is the ballot's grand total ten millions? The already published figures show that it has exceeded nine. But will ten be reached? Lord Cecil will make the announcement from the platform. To be present and to join in cheering him will be for all the thousands in the great meeting a share in a unique experience.

FACT AND FANCY

By FREDA WHITE (*Author of "Traffic in Arms"*)

"FACTS are chieftains that winna ding." Burns said so. He was wrong. Set before a man a fact that challenges the fancy of his heart, and watch the fact crumple up!

Commander Olliver, in May HEADWAY, urges that it is the job of the Union to seek and tell the truth about international affairs. But then he adds two limiting conditions; first that we must try to educate the nation up to the "centre" opinion of our members; and next, apparently, that we should accept the direction of the Government.

Now the only "centre" opinion of the Union is voiced in resolutions of the Council and Executive. Their members are agreed as to general aims, but often divided in their notion of methods. When disagreement is too deep the Union tends—as on the question of the International Air Force—to delay deciding on its policy. But policy, the plan of what should be done, and information, the account of conditions as they exist, are totally different things. The Union must inform the nation about international problems whether the Executive has framed a policy on them or not. Its staff must write the truth as exactly as it can, regardless of whether that truth is likely to suit the Right or the Left, the Government or the Communist Party—or a platonic idea of an Executive member of the Centre, called Mrs. Harris. If the facts were doctored to create a point of view, even the point of view of supporting the League, the vast majority of readers would instantly discern it, and would cease to rely on Union information.

Again, it is impossible to accept guidance from the Government. "Keeping in touch" is another thing; and we do it. Ministers and officials are always accessible and nearly always helpful. But every word they utter must be scrutinised in the light of official policy. A minister makes that policy. Naturally he is concerned to present it favourably, and of course he omits any consideration which conflicts with his argument. An official, for his part, is not a source of national enlightenment. He is an expert and an instrument of policy. The expert in him may disagree with the minister his master, but he is not free to say what he thinks. So the Union, like the people generally, can look to the Government to tell us what it wants us to believe. But that is rarely the full historic truth.

Union information, to my mind, has some most important advantages. It is given free to anyone who asks for it, Union member or not, British or foreign. The Union's narrative pamphlets are very cheap. Together they form the only source of such knowledge which is generally available and untainted by party or national prejudice. The thousands of people who ask for information are themselves, for the most part, free from preconceptions. They simply want to know the facts about a problem; they have the just and reasonable jury mind, prepared to make judgment in accordance with the evidence.

A small minority, whether from education, or political allegiance, or temperament, are prejudiced, and come to the trial with their verdict ready-made. These are

often, rather oddly, what are called "educated people." They use a trained intelligence in their own profession so easily that they forget that they have not the same skill in other mental exercises. There they are dominated by emotion, find new facts unwelcome, and dismiss them as untrue.

Commander Olliver, if I may say so, seems to fall into this error. Thus he writes that "Traffic in Arms" is inaccurate in saying "The armament firms have but one interest, that the demand for war material should be as great as possible," and that "they profit from war." This is simply a truism, like saying the interest of the fruiterer is that the demand for fruit should be great. It occurs in a description of the interest, in the business sense of advantage to be gained, of producing and importing states, revolutionaries, and the arms industry. If Commander Olliver examined his thoughts, he would find a confusion between the feelings of dislike for the commercial side of arms-making and liking for arms-makers. His mind, therefore, will not admit that it is the business of a war-plane manufacturer to sell war-planes. Perhaps he envisages that gentleman bursting into tears when he receives an order, and accepting it in a voice broken with sobs.

Again he questions the remark: "Manchuria reduced from a prosperous region of trade to a desolate anarchy." The evidence all tallies on this point, from the Japanese despatches to the League describing how their occupation had increased the bandits from dozens to thousands, through the Lytton Commission's account of a disorder previously unknown, to the *Times* articles of 1932, 1933 and 1934. Famine in 1932 in provinces formerly food-

exporting, because the peasants dared not cultivate their fields; murders and kidnappings of Europeans; unsafe railways; these have been offset lately by a reformed currency, public works, and a state-encouraged opium-trade. But all authorities agree that the good government of Chang-Tso-Lin's time is still to seek.

Everybody makes mistakes, and no doubt we do. Moreover, in the process of reducing masses of original material to their compass of a memorandum, it is easy to twist the proportions of evidence. But the Union makes no statement which is not the result of honest and careful research. Detailed research is essential, for the popular hunger for knowledge is immense, and grows with eating. The old days when the nation was content to leave acquaintance with international problems to the Foreign Office, and to trust blindly to dim oracles pronounced by Foreign Ministers, are gone and gone for ever. The people are aware that their fate hangs on these issues, and they are determined to learn and to make up their own minds about them.

"Don't talk to the man at the wheel!" says Commander Olliver. No. Yet a childhood memory sticks in my mind of a boat with an outboard engine, a Highland sea-loch, a sudden storm. I sat still, docile, with a child's acceptance of grown-up actions, while the steersman guided the boat straight at a reef spouting with breakers. Then I looked at his face, saw it distorted and crazed with fear, and snatched the tiller from his hand. The imbecility of panic, such as seems to have seized the governments to-day, may steer the whole world on to a lee-shore, unless it is saved by the good sense of the peoples.

RESTORING PROSPERITY—No. 2

FAILURE DUE TO
LACK OF COURAGE

By J. B. BULLOCK

SOMETHING must be done if the present halting recovery is to be kept going and real prosperity brought back. We are considering the League's economic work as showing its ability to give the guidance and help of which the world stands in need for that purpose. A signal example was the organisation of the necessary research, study and discussion to produce from over 200 delegates and experts of over 50 countries unanimous findings on the broad principles of economic policy. The Conference of 1927, of which the recommendations were briefly summarised in a preceding article, gave the world a great opportunity. It is not pleasant, now that we have lived through the consequences, to recall how that opportunity was lost.

At first the Conference's sane and moderate programme of reform met with a remarkable demonstration of enthusiasm, official and unofficial. Within a few months twenty-nine governments gave their approval. The Council and the Assembly commended the Report and set up a representative Consultative Committee to watch the progress of governments and of the Economic and Financial Committees in applying the recommendations.

At the end of a year it was possible to record that the increase of tariffs and other obstacles to trade had been checked. There had been gains—deliberate concessions to the movement for greater freedom of trading—but there had also been losses; the important thing was a general pause in the multiplication of barriers. At the end of another year the gains were fewer, the losses more serious. Meantime, special problems were expertly studied and conventions drawn up. The results

of these efforts were insubstantial; metaphorically, as well as literally, they were skin and bone.*

The Consultative Committee recognised in May, 1929, that the enthusiasm which the Conference had aroused was nearly exhausted, and that the movement required an infusion of fresh energy. Perhaps governments might have moved with more decision and speed thereafter, if time had been willing longer to wait upon them—though it is a big perhaps—but the early symptoms of the depression were beginning to be felt; so the timid became more timid.

The new initiative, for which the Consultative Committee appealed, was taken at the Tenth Assembly, where the British representative proposed a tariff truce pending renewed efforts to implement the 1927 report. Subsequently, the original proposal was whittled down; the emphasis shifted gradually away from the regime of tariffs and restrictions towards a programme of measures intended to facilitate favourable action by governments—to subjects such as the treatment of foreigners, customs simplification, indirect protectionism. Two conferences "with a view to Concerted Economic Action" were held in 1930; before, between, and after other meetings and committees carried on the work. In 1931 it merged with the economic explorations which were the outcome of M. Briand's plan for an United States of Europe.

To read the proceedings of these meetings in 1930 and 1931 is to get a picture of men persevering from a

* Of the conventions signed in 1927 and 1928, the only ones which have survived are the International Agreements Relating to the Exportation respectively of Hides and Skins and Bones.

sense of duty with a task which they know to be hopeless. The growing intensity of the crisis made governments less and less willing to accommodate their policies to the international necessities which their representatives at Geneva saw clearly enough. The latter were sincere in their efforts, but they were overborne by circumstances. Let us not flatter ourselves by imagining that the tide in which these efforts foundered was some natural phenomenon arising directly from the crisis itself as a wave follows upon a submarine earthquake. Quite the contrary; at each successive stage of the crisis the action increasingly required by logic and sense was the application as remedial measures of the reforms proposed by the 1927 Conference. The flood which triumphed was a flood of uninstructed, instinctive opinion, of misconceived interest and prejudice, of majority ignorance exploited—not necessarily deliberately—by unenlightened minority self-interest.

It had been impossible to secure concerted economic action to avert the depression; the next demand was for concerted action to end it. It originated in the International Labour Conference in April, 1932; the Thirteenth Assembly approved the suggestion; a Preparatory Commission got to work in November; and the Monetary and Economic Conference met in London in June, 1933. Unlike the Geneva Conference, it was an official gathering of government representatives. Within a few weeks deadlock developed. The Conference stands adjourned. But, in our present study, we are not greatly concerned with the failure of

governments to agree in the Conference; the League's essential contribution was made before the Conference opened in the work of the Preparatory Commission.

The Annotated Agenda prepared by the Commission analysed the characteristics of the crisis in detail—the disorganisation of money and finance, of the exchanges and of trade, of production and prices, and of investment. It formulated comprehensive proposals for the restoration of an effective international monetary standard, having regard to the needs of the countries on and off gold; for co-operation in raising the general level of prices; for the "demobilisation" of exchange controls by stages; for mutual and general concessions in favour of greater freedom of trading.

In the Conference while it lasted the Commission's conclusions and the wisdom and necessity of its recommendations were not challenged. What was lacked was the courage to apply them. If the Conference re-assembled to-morrow, its Agenda would require little rearrangement. The same problems—sometimes in a more acute form, sometimes in a less—await solution: there are no alternatives to the Commission's proposals. In so far as they call for some modification owing to subsequent developments, the bases for new proposals, if not the proposals themselves, have been furnished in studies published by the Economic Organisation in the last year.

We failed to get concerted action to avert the crisis or to end it. Can we now succeed in securing concerted economic action to save "recovery" and to make it real and lasting?

PEACE-BUILDING IN THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE THE FIFTH

By S. H. BAILEY

(Lecturer in International Relations, the London School of Economics and Political Science)

IN the flood of appraisals of the record of the last twenty-five years there is a tendency to refer only cursorily to a change which the Gibbon of the future may well single out as the most significant of the many changes of the Georgian period. Acceptance of the general principle that the peace of the world is the collective concern of all members of the international society within the League of Nations marks a breach with the past potentially more far-reaching than any other single development of modern history.

It is fashionable in certain circles for the moment to dismiss the Covenant of the League of Nations as an impracticable day-dream of otherwise realistically-minded statesmen. Yet if nothing more had been achieved than the bare enunciation of the general principle in a diplomatic document accepted by the generality of governments, another milestone along the exacting road to peace would have been passed.

But progress has been carried much further. The last fifteen years have witnessed a stubborn and unremitting effort to secure the applicability and the application of the collective principle. The Covenant was launched upon a world exhausted and sickened by war. As an instrument for the prevention of war many greeted it with quick approval, some with scepticism, and a few with enthusiasm. Yet in the first five years of the League's existence probably not more than a handful of persons in each of its member countries had

any knowledge of what the prevention of war involved or of the methods proposed under the Covenant for the purpose. In sentiment it was abreast of the times; in method it was far ahead. Nowhere had national officialdom or the general public been prepared for the implications in practice of the new principle of international political co-operation. Its success depended upon the formation of new habits of thought in governmental departments and amongst the public at large. Traditional ideas of national self-help had to be replaced by the conception of a commonwealth of nations to which each government within the League owed the duty of positive co-operation.

In spite of formidable obstacles, a beginning has been made with this work of education. Inevitably progress in different countries has been uneven. In at least two there has been retrogression. Nevertheless, it is possible to record that the first steps have now been taken towards recognition of the need for a loyalty which transcends the national state. The goal still lies far in the distance, but many of the essential preparations before any advance could be made towards it have been undertaken in the post-war years.

In the meantime ways and means had to be sought to consolidate the position won in the acceptance of the Covenant and the establishment of the League as an institution, not only for technical, but also for political co-operation. The search had to be pursued not in the

quietude of a philosopher's study, but in the swirling disorder of a dynamic world. Methods had to be sought for making the new principle effective in its application to a world of conflicting claims and divergent traditions. The difficulties of this task were aggravated from the beginning by the dangerous legacy of the Peace Treaties. Psychologically and substantially they did violence from the outset to the spirit and purpose of the Covenant. Nevertheless, the work of consolidation has gone forward.

Each generation is in a hurry to justify itself, and more often than not contemptuous of its own incomplete achievement. Yet a generation which has established the Permanent Court of International Justice, laid some of the foundations of a common minimum standard for the workers of the world, and explored far into the jungle of many previously untouched problems of the international society, may well have deserved the praise of its successors. Changes in the shape of social habit and intention are not the product of a decade's labour.

As many tides have pounded a stubborn coast before the line has moved, so the enthusiasm of many generations will be needed to smash the persistent tradition of national conflict.

Nothing is easier than to point to what has not been achieved during these post-war years. So, far from peace having been ensured, a catastrophic armaments race has again begun. So far from the anarchy of economic relations having been dispelled, millions of persons in every continent are without adequate means of subsistence. So far from the spirit of aggression having been exorcised, it is twisting the minds of the present rulers of three great countries. Danger threatens much of the work of apparent consolidation. But no disaster can wholly obliterate the persuasive impression of pioneers in any field upon the aspirations of those who follow them. Monuments to the builders of the League of Nations are already being erected in a new alertness to the need of collective action for the solution of the problems of the contemporary world.

THE AIR PROBLEM

By LORD EUSTACE PERCY

At the annual meeting of the General Council of the L.N.U., held at Bournemouth on June 24, the Air problem excited the liveliest discussion. It was again the chief topic of debate at the December meeting at the Conway Hall, London; it appears a third time on the agenda of the annual meeting at Cambridge, in July. But now an agreed resolution will be presented with the unanimous approval of the Executive Committee. Lord Allen of Hurtwood will move the resolution and Sir Austen Chamberlain will support him. Lord Eustace Percy in his article on this page states the principle which has brought all articles together—that of putting first things first.

The Executive Committee will submit to the General Council of the Union, which meets at Cambridge on July 3, the following resolution:—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union:

Having considered the proposals approved and adopted by the Executive Committee on November 1, 1934, for the abolition of National (military and naval) Air Forces and for the creation of an International Air Force;

Declares that the need for limitation, reduction and control of armaments has become more urgent than ever;

Reaffirms in particular its conviction that all-round abolition of national air forces, which was proposed on certain conditions in the British Draft Convention of March, 1933, is vital to the security of nations against the most sudden and atrocious of all forms of warfare;

Recognises that such abolition will prove unattainable unless coupled with effective measures to prevent the use of civil aviation for military purposes;

Urges His Majesty's Government to press unceasingly and with all its influence for the total abolition of all national air forces in the shortest possible time, and to indicate its detailed proposals for the international control or internationalisation of civil aviation; and

If these objects are found to be impracticable unless the system of international control of civil aviation is supplemented by provisions for the maintenance (as part of that system) of an air force or air forces to prevent the use of civil aircraft for military purposes, further urges His Majesty's Government to examine, through the Air Commission set up by the Disarmament Conference, how such a force or forces may be established; and

Calls upon the Executive to press for an immediate statement from the Government with regard to the procedure above outlined.

By general consent, the chief mistake made by the Governments of Europe in conducting both the preparatory work for the Disarmament Conference and the Conference itself was that they allowed themselves to become immersed in details before they had settled principles.

In one matter, unofficial advocates of disarmament have surely been committing the same mistake. We have allowed ourselves to be led away from the twin principles of the abolition of air armaments and the international control of civil aviation into a controversy about one particular corollary of those principles. We are in danger of blurring the principles by our anxious insistence on the problem of what is generally called an "International Air Force."

Admittedly, all disarmament must be accompanied by measures for the protection of the law-abiding

citizen or nation against the law-breaker who secretly collects forbidden arms. In the case of air disarmament, it is peculiarly difficult to devise such protective measures. The danger of air attack lies in its suddenness.

If international control of civil aviation fails to prevent the launching of an attack by civil machines secretly converted and suddenly mobilised, it will usually be impossible to intercept such an attack before it has reached its objective.

The defence of a threatened city must, therefore, take place near that city, even if very early warning of the attack is received by the defending forces. Consequently, the Italian Government originally proposed the retention by members of the League of small national air forces of limited range, for defensive purposes.

The alternative proposed by the French Government was a League Air Force. This latter proposal has been taken up by many unofficial advocates of disarmament, but they have often given it a form which would render such a force useless for the purpose envisaged both by the French and by the Italian Governments. Neither a force of interceptor mechanics concentrated at Geneva or on certain frontiers, nor a force distributed over the chief civil aerodromes of Europe as an adjunct to the system of international control, could effectively defend Berlin or Paris or London against attack. Consequently, there has been some danger lest the proposed International Force should come to be regarded as a punitive rather than a protective agency. The idea of retaliation has been one of the cruellest and most dangerous elements in the laws of war in the past; it would be a pity to introduce it into the law of the League.

If schemes for an International Air Force thus run the risk of arousing controversy without solving the only problem which they were originally devised to meet, surely it is better at this moment to leave such schemes on one side, and to concentrate our attention and our propaganda on the two main principles which it is our purpose to press upon the governments of the world.

Our attitude towards the French and Italian proposals should be that we are, in principle, ready to adopt either, or any modification of either or both, if thereby we can secure the abolition of air armaments.

For that object we are ready to pay that price, but it must be recognised as a price, not as an end in itself.

THE L.N.U. AMERICAN TOUR.

The L.N.U. tour to the United States was a complete success. A party of twelve, which made the westward journey in the *Majestic* and returned in the *Aquitania*, enjoyed sixteen crowded and delightful days in America. Everywhere they found lively interest in the League's work and in the Union. They were given an insight into many different sides of American life by hosts who were kindness itself, and for whom no trouble was too great. In Washington they were invited to the Jubilee Day service in the cathedral, and to the garden party at the British Embassy. A long week-end at Philadelphia afforded the visitors an opportunity to see the famous women's college of Bryn Mawr. One member of the party flew to Canada, and others made a tour to Boston. In both places a warm welcome was waiting from friends of the League.

THE PEACE BALLOT

A PUBLIC MEETING

at the

ROYAL ALBERT HALL

to ANNOUNCE the

FINAL RESULTS JUNE 27th at 8 p.m.

CHAIRMAN: VISCOUNT CECIL

SPEAKERS:

The Archbishop of Canterbury	Mr. Walter Citrine
The Earl of Home	Mr. W. J. Williams
Dr. F. W. Norwood	Mrs. Pavitt
Mrs. Corbett Ashby	

Application for Tickets should be made, as early as possible, to the Secretary, National Declaration Committee, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Prices from 1s. to 10s. 6d.; delegates' tickets at special prices; a limited number of free seats. No seats reserved after 7.50 p.m. Holders of Tickets which they are unable to use are requested to return them at least five days before the meeting.



POISON:

"An apathetic and syrupy internationalism has now to be overcome in order that the British people may be unitedly determined to maintain their Imperial power and prestige against all comers. So far, the harm done has not been great. Our people are still prepared to make any sacrifice and will soon be called upon to make considerable sacrifices for King and country."—*Leading article in the Evening News.*

ANTIDOTE:

It is a noteworthy fact that those who urge their compatriots to make these considerable sacrifices seldom feel impelled to rally personally round the sacrificial altar. It may be that the pen is mightier than the sword, but it is also very much more comfortable to wield whilst a war is in progress.

* * *

POISON:

In an article protesting against the suggestion that children should be interested in the Peace Ballot, the following appeared in the *Evening News*:—"Children have a brief enough chance of carefree happiness; they are genuinely young for so short a time. That they should be paraded and postured, made eloquent, coaxed into mimicry of adult absurdity, in the interests of pallidly sentimental politicians, is a vulgar sort of crime."

ANTIDOTE:

As is disclosed in the preceding dose of poison, Lord Rothermere prefers that children should be lulled and soothed in preparations for "the enormous sacrifices" they will be called upon to make if the "pallid sentimentalists" can only be induced to leave everything to the "vicarious patriots" of the sensational Press.

* * *

POISON:

"... So it will be with the next War, whether it breaks out in Europe or somewhere else. All the belligerents will tell the League to go to the devil. That will put an end to Geneva. It will be the only benefit that the next War will confer on a long-suffering humanity."—*Leading article in the Evening News.*

ANTIDOTE:

Lord Rothermere evidently holds the opinion that the elimination of the only existing effort to abolish War should justify another European War.

* * *

POISON:

"If there is any person worse than a warmonger, it is he who suggests that other people are warmongers."—Mr. Arthur J. Hicks, at Clapham.

ANTIDOTE:

Then we surely ought to hang any person who gives information which leads to the detection of a murderer.

* * *

POISON:

"It must not be thought that aeroplanes can ever replace battleships."—M. PIETRI, French Minister of Marine, replying to a suggestion to the effect that it is no longer so vitally necessary that navies shall be expanded.

ANTIDOTE:

The same instinct would impel a butcher to flout the suggestion that man can live on vegetables alone—the welfare of mankind being far from the primary consideration in either case.

C.C.T.

ITALY & ABYSSINIA

By STUART
MUNRO

THE League's first business is to preserve peace. "In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security" run the opening words of the Covenant. The League is not concerned to achieve its end through the use of any particular means. It is not a busybody and has no desire to put its finger into every pie. If nations with a cause in dispute can compose their quarrel without recourse to the League's machinery, no one is better pleased than the Members of the League.

These facts must be called to mind first if the League's dealing with the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia is to be seen in true perspective. The League does not insist that a settlement between the two countries must be negotiated through the League. If Italy and Abyssinia choose to negotiate directly, then the League has nothing but goodwill for their efforts. But the League does insist that the obligations of the Covenant shall be honoured by all Member States. A settlement shall be sought by peaceful means, not by war; and if either country, in fear of attack, chooses to exercise its League rights, then those rights shall be respected.

The trouble was occasioned by the unmarked frontier of Somaliland. At the wells of Walwal, held by Italian troops since 1931, but claimed by Abyssinia, the arrival on November 23 of an Anglo-Abyssinian engaged in mapping the grazing routes of nomad tribes, led to an exchange of defiance. On December 5, fighting broke out between the Abyssinian escort and Italian native soldiers; 107 Abyssinians were killed and 45 wounded. The Italian losses were 30 killed and 60 wounded.

Italy or Abyssinia were entitled to appeal to the League. That could not be denied against the plain words of the Covenant in Articles XI and XV. On January 3 Abyssinia, who had already, on December 14, presented a protest to the League against Italian actions, entered a formal appeal. Italy objected. She refused to recognise the matter in its then stage as one which should be brought before the League.

There is an Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928, which provides for the submission to a "procedure of conciliation and arbitration of any questions, without recourse to the force of arms." Italy desired to apply it; and Abyssinia, at the January meeting of the League Council, was persuaded to suspend her appeal and undertake direct negotiations with Italy. The League had no reason to dislike such a course; if peace was preserved the League's object would be attained. Only in the atmosphere of peace can justice secure a hearing.

Progress, however, was far from rapid, while the accumulation of military resources of all kinds in North-Eastern Africa went on apace. More than ever alarmed, Abyssinia sought to obtain a hearing at the

The Council:

Leaving to the two Parties full liberty to settle the dispute in question in accordance with Article 5 of the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of August 2, 1928,

Decides to meet if, in default of agreement between the four arbitrators for the settlement of the dispute, an understanding shall not have been reached by July 25 between these arbitrators as to the selection of the fifth arbitrator (unless the four arbitrators agree to the extension of this period); the Council also decides to meet to examine the situation if on August 25 the settlement by means of conciliation and arbitration should not have taken place.

stances of the moment. A League Committee was sitting charged with the duty of defining, in particular, economic and financial measures which might be applied, should, in the future, a State, whether a Member of the League of Nations or not, endanger peace by unilateral repudiation of its international obligations. The Committee had been appointed at the April meeting, when Germany's disregard of her bond was formally reprobated. All the Great Powers were Members.

Italy continued to object. She would not admit the League must intervene. A settlement should be left to direct negotiations between herself and Abyssinia, which, she declared, had not failed. She would not accept a time limit within which an agreement must be reached, under the penalty of a further reference to the League and an inquiry into the merits of the dispute by the Council. She would not pledge herself to refrain from the use of force. Her attitude was unbending. Blunt hints, which had a semi-official ring about them, were flung about. If the Council meddled Italy would walk out of the League.

A delighted clamour rose from the League's critics, not only in Italy. The League, they shouted, had no choice. Let it swallow the rebuff and abdicate, confessing its futility when confronted with a deliberate challenge. Its absurd alternative was to plunge Britain and France into war with Italy, which, of course, neither people would tolerate. Although British foreign policy is based on the support and extension of the League, some British newspapers and politicians in unmeasured terms incited Italy to persist in her unhelpfulness.* Against the League, any extravagance.

But the League Council stood firm. With Great Britain and France at their head, the Member States insisted that the Covenant must be respected. They saw that a test was being applied, that a challenge had been thrown down from which the League could not shrink without allowing a deep wound to be inflicted on the collective system. Such wounds kill. They realised a modest respect is

special meeting of the Council called in mid-April. Again Abyssinia was persuaded to accept delay. Direct negotiations continued to drag on indecisively. At the May meeting of the Council postponement was no longer possible.

Not only did a policy of repeated delay conflict with the Covenant; it disregarded the circum-

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MUSSOLINI FLOUTS LEAGUE

No "Interference" About Abyssinia

GENEVA GLOOM OVER A GRAVE DEVELOPMENT

"Italy Does Not Turn Back" Says the Duce

MUSSOLINI to-day "warned off" the League. Hopes were high in Geneva this afternoon that a compromise settlement would be reached in the dispute which threatened war between Italy and Abyssinia. They were suddenly shattered by a message from Rome to the Italian delegate.

In this (save an Exchange message) Mussolini intimated that he

* On Saturday, the League's success was NOT regarded as Front Page News.

due to principle, a decent consistency must be observed in statesmanship. Germany could not be told in April that faith must be kept, and Italy be allowed, in May, to tear up her pledges and make a victim of a weak neighbour.

Several times a final breach appeared inescapable. After many hours of anxious negotiation, the Council, under the leadership, at once strong and conciliatory of Mr. Anthony Eden, loyally supported by M. Laval, secured acceptance by Italy of the essential points in the League case.

HITLER BEGINS BRIDGE BUILDING

By ROGER
FORTUNE

THE peoples of the world waited patiently for the speech which Herr Hitler delivered in the Reichstag on May 21. They were well rewarded. It was a frank and courageous address in which the Leader did not shrink from entering into abundant detail and grappling with the most formidable difficulties. The peoples must show an even greater patience in reading and thinking over what Herr Hitler had to say. On their response to his arguments and his appeal the peace of the world in no little degree depends.

Herr Hitler reasserted in emphatic terms Germany's claim to complete equality. It is a claim whose recognition is required by both justice and common sense. So great a people as the Germans must not and cannot be condemned to a state of permanent inferiority. They have played a splendid part in history. Their rich resources, human and material, guarantee them a part not less splendid in the future. Any attempt to deprive them of it can only end in disaster. The present state of Europe must be viewed from the standpoint of complete equality. From that standpoint Herr Hitler's speech appears a not unhelpful contribution to the maintenance of world peace.

Granted equality, Herr Hitler is prepared to lead Germany back into the League. Short of such a formal return, he proclaims the German readiness "to take part in a system of collective co-operation for the safeguarding of European peace." In his view, a clear separation is necessary between the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Even in the Versailles settlement, although Germany now repudiates "the points which involve moral and material discrimination against the German people," Herr Hitler pledges his government "to respect unconditionally the Articles concerning the mutual relations of the nations in other respects, including territorial provisions." It will bring about "the revision rendered inevitable in the course of time only by the method of peaceful undertakings."

Herr Hitler sees in "a regulated evolution of treaties a factor for the safeguarding of peace," but in the throttling down of every necessary change a cause of future explosions.

So far there is little to which legitimate objection can be taken. Herr Hitler, of course, makes out the strongest possible case for Germany. But that is his right. Indeed, if he refrained he would be failing in his duty.

When he turns from the statement of principles to their application, Herr Hitler still encourages a hope that the European Powers may soon come together in friendly understanding. Germany, he announces, "will scrupulously observe every treaty voluntarily concluded, even if it was drawn up before the present Government's assumption of power and office. In particular, they will hold to and fulfil all obligations arising out of the Treaty of Locarno, so long as the other partners are ready to stand by that Treaty."

The League's duty to concern itself in the dispute is recognised. A time limit is fixed for direct negotiations. Italy has not formally bound herself to refrain from any use of force. But she has reaffirmed Article 5 of the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928, with its plain words, "without having recourse to the force of arms."

All danger is not yet over. But goodwill can achieve a peaceful settlement in less than three months. And three months offers ample time for a retreat by stages from ill-advised defiance.

This pledge is all the more satisfactory because, during the past few weeks rumour has alleged that Germany no longer values Locarno and is, in fact, already disregarding her obligations.

Rearmament to the point of equality with her neighbours Germany will not discuss. She has announced her intentions and will carry them out. But she is still ready to join in a general agreement. "At any time she will apply those limitations to her armaments that are accepted equally by other Powers." She is in favour of qualitative disarmament by the abolition everywhere of "the heaviest arms especially suited for aggression." As these, she instances the heaviest artillery and the heaviest tanks. She will accept any limitation of the calibre of land and naval guns and of the size of warships and of the tonnage of submarines.

Alternatively, she will consent to the complete abolition of submarines. She does not believe that military aeroplanes can be abolished "while bombing is still left open," but prohibition of the dropping of "gas, incendiary, and explosive bombs outside the real battle zone" is, she considers, feasible, and this limitation can be extended into "complete international outlawry of air bombing."

Without waiting for discussion with her neighbours, Germany is restricting her air armaments to parity with each of the other great Western nations, and her navy to one-third of the British, which means a 15 per cent. inferiority to the French.

In a passage of special interest to Great Britain, Herr Hitler said: "The German Government recognise of themselves the overwhelming and vital importance, and therewith the justification of a dominating protection for the British Empire on the sea, precisely as Germany conversely is resolved to do all that is necessary for the protection of her Continental existence and freedom."

These opinions and proposals do not at once dispel European unrest. They leave some vital questions unanswered. They must be submitted to the closest scrutiny. But a sympathetic scrutiny they surely deserve. They show that on the German side there is not only defiance. Therefore it would be unforgivable if they were met on the side of the rest of Europe with nothing except suspicion. Once again Herr Hitler has given "the assurance that Germany will accede to any international limitation or abolition of arms whatsoever for a uniform space of time." The way is open for a conference in which a comprehensive settlement, acceptable to all parties, will be not unattainable.

In his closing words, Herr Hitler declared that it was incompatible with his sense of responsibility as Leader and Chancellor to express even a single doubt of the possibility of preserving peace. The people wish for peace. It must be possible for the governments to preserve peace. *It must; and it is.*

THE EX-GERMAN COLONIES

By LORD OLIVIER

Lord Olivier is one of the foremost authorities in the world on Colonial problems. His career began with several years' service in the Colonial Office. Later, he held official posts in British Honduras, the Leeward Isles, Jamaica and elsewhere. Of Jamaica he was three times Acting Governor, and from 1907 to 1913 Governor. In 1924 he joined the British Cabinet as Secretary of State for India. Several of his books, among them "White Capital and Coloured Labour" and "The Anatomy of African Misery," have a world-wide circulation and have exerted a strong influence on public policy.

In May HEADWAY, Colonel H. W. Kelsall suggested that "the League of Nations be asked to go into all aspects of the question and decide whether it would or would not be in the interests of peace without detriment to the interests of the native population to transfer the mandate for some territory (to be settled between the British Government and the League of Nations) to Germany." Lord Olivier, who had commented on a previous letter to HEADWAY from Colonel Kelsall, writes again in reply:—

THE question of transferring mandates for the government of "backward peoples" to Germany cannot be dealt with so simply as Colonel Kelsall suggests. But it is perhaps not surprising that he should be under some misunderstanding about it, since it appeared in a recent debate in the House of Commons that Sir John Simon was equally so, and had to be put right by Sir Austen Chamberlain. No doubt, however, it may be possible to find some means of diplomatically discussing Herr Hitler's ideas upon the subject, which appear to be similarly inappropriate.

But as clearness of thinking on this question is important, perhaps you will allow me to offer the following further observations upon it. It is not simply a matter of "considering the well-being of the native population"—which may be merely a glib and specious phrase. It is a question of maintaining certain principles which, in the temporary lucidity of conscience that, after the war, inspired the promoters of this part of the Covenant, were recognised as expressing a nearer approach to recognition of the duty of European Powers to Africans than had governed their proceedings at the time of the Partition of Africa and subsequently.

That "Partition," in the form which it actually took, was the best thing practicable in the circumstances of the "Scramble" that was at the time proceeding; to avoid worse developments. But ever since the Partition there has been a growing force of protest against the interpretation that was immediately placed upon it, not least conspicuously by British Imperialism, that it entitled us to declare the natives' lands to be our own and to take what we would of the best of them for our own people's profit, to be realised by exploiting native labour. The principles of the Covenant, and the

principles of its associated Institution, the International Labour Office, were inspired by a denial of these pre-summptions, and they imply that, so long as the more respectable *modus vivendi* of the Mandatory system is working, so far as it goes, satisfactorily, and the native peoples themselves do not desire a change of trustees, no Government or Power has any right to hand over the land and labour of these communities to another European Power, just because it would like to have "colonies."

I cannot myself conceive how any member of the League of Nations Union, who is at all familiar with African problems and was conversant at the time of the framing of the Covenant with the considerations that inspired its provisions in this connection, can contemplate such a resilience from them as Colonel Kelsall appears to favour, any more than I can understand the mentality of those ingenious publicists who are now trying to jockey our Government into breaking our solemn promise to the Basuto and Bechuana peoples by handing them over to the Government of South Africa.

And if Colonel Kelsall or anyone else is inclined to believe that it would be advantageous for African native peoples to be restored to German rule, I can only assure him that I have never met any experienced friend of Africa who would agree with him.

As to "fairness to Germany"—Germany provoked and went to war, and being defeated, suffered the loss of the Colonies she had annexed in the Partition of Africa, as she did that of Alsace-Lorraine, which she had acquired by the same process as that by which she now lost both them and it. The victorious Powers did not divide or retain the sovereignty of the ex-German Colonial territories. Under the new principles adopted

Post Time is Adventure Time!

By Anita Richmond

"You're very excited, Norah. What's the matter?"
"It's time the postman came."
"But—"
"Ah, there he is!" Norah jumped to her feet and ran to the front door. When she returned, she bore a letter which she flourished triumphantly in her friend's face.
"It's quite an adventure nowadays!" she exclaimed.
"I don't understand," said Marjorie. "Besides, that letter isn't for you. It's addressed to Miss Blanche—"
"My pen name. This letter's from an editor and—"
She tore open the envelope. "Yes, there's a cheque! Ten beautiful guineas!"
"For heaven's sake explain, Norah! Don't be so tantalising."
Norah sank into a chair, her eyes bright with excitement. "I'm a real live authoress, Marjorie. Really I am. I've been writing now for over a year, and I've made—simply pounds. You wouldn't believe it." She pointed across the room. "See that bookcase? That cost me three hours' work—if it can be called work. Really, it's the most fascinating hobby imaginable."
"But you, Norah!" exclaimed the other in amazement. "Why, you never—"
"I know. That's the wonderful thing about it. I never dreamt I could do it, although I always longed to be able to. One day I saw an advertisement of a correspondence course in article and story writing, and sent for a copy of the prospectus."
"And you joined?"
"Eventually I did. I doubted my ability to write; but the Course people were so friendly and helpful in their letters that I plucked up courage and enrolled."
"I don't believe in those correspondence courses," said Marjorie, shaking her head.
"I didn't till I learnt more about this one. My dear, you wouldn't believe the trouble they take. I hadn't the foggiest notion how I should even start an article before I joined, yet two months afterwards the Director of Studies wrote and said that my last exercise would be up to standard if I revised it in a certain way, and he gave me a list of papers to send it to."
"Well?"
"The first paper bought it. I got two guineas. Since then I've sold nearly everything I've written."
"It's perfectly wonderful, Norah. I wish I could do it, but then, writers are born, not—"
"Rubbish! It's a matter of training. If you can write a good letter you can learn to write 'copy' for the papers—I'll tell you what I'll do, Marjorie. I'll write and get the Institute's new prospectus for you."
"The Institute?"
"The Regent Institute, Palace Gate."
"But I couldn't afford the fee, Norah."
"It's really quite reasonable, and you can pay it in instalments. You might get it back in no time. I did within five months. Do let me get that prospectus for you."
"I'll think about it."
"Take my advice, Marjorie, and act now. I wish I hadn't waited so long. I'd have earned pounds more."
"All right, Norah." Marjorie rose to her feet. She was quite enthusiastic by this time. "Let's send for it now, dear."

GERMANY MUST EXPAND— OR DISRUPT THE WORLD!

By ELIZABETH YANDELL

CHANCE brought copies of HEADWAY for March and April into my hands and I read with interest Colonel Kelsall's letter on Germany's Colonies and Lord Olivier's reply. Colonel Kelsall has voiced a thought which has long been troubling many people who are outside the League of Nations Union, yet have the welfare of our country deeply ingrained, and who heartily agree with what he states. Lord Olivier's letter is statesmanlike; he beats a bush long dead and sere, its dry leaves of "fudge" having a papery rustle, yet the little bird flies out; he asks: "How can a Nazi State, with Nazi anthropological superstitions, administer a Hamitic community?"

How not? The kitten is not always the colour of its mother. He further states that "Herr Hitler himself has admitted the incongruity." This may be so, and yet be no more than conversational.

Herr Hitler himself may not personally desire African Colonies, but the time *must* and *will* come when he will request their return to Germany (or their equivalent).

Few people in this country who have had opportunity during the last four years of seeing weekly a certain German illustrated paper can fail to understand the significance of the frequent articles published during that period with their gentle insistence on "German East Africa."

In her own mind, Germany has never ceased to own the African colonies; she is now, for the first time in her history, a truly great nation, unified, man, woman and child, with a set purpose and an almost religious belief in her future; expand she must, or disrupt the world.

Let us then offer her her colonies and give Herr Hitler a chance to refuse. It is the least we can do. As Colonel Kelsall says, the results might be surprising.

Gratitude can work strangely; it might even succeed in cementing a League of All Nations.

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Norman Bentwich, Ramsay Muir, R. H. Tawney, H. N. Brailsford,
C. F. Andrews, N. Mayorski, Miss K. D. Courtney, Sir Norman Angell,
Vernon Bartlett, W. Arnold-Forster, G. P. Gooch, Gilbert Murray,
Pitman B. Potter, Gerald Heard, Dr. Mattuck, Miss Ruth Fry,
Miss Winifred Holtby, G. E. M. Joad.

Tickets 2/6 (Individual Sessions, 1/-). Full particulars from the
National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEMONSTRATION,
SUNDAY, JUNE 30th, at 4 p.m.

BOOK NOTICES

The Duty of Empire. By Leonard Barnes. (Victor Gollancz. 10s. 6d.)

It is a good thing for all of us, men and institutions alike, to see ourselves as others see us; and when the spectator is one in whom the sight arouses a sharp distaste, the benefit is all the greater.

Mr. Barnes was for several years on the Colonial Office staff; later he edited two leading South African daily papers. Therefore he does not speak without knowledge when he describes the Empire. He reveals, however, no liking. The Empire, he says, "consists of two groups of communities, the free and the unfree, the first having white and the second coloured skins. Of these two groups, the second is both numerically and in certain other ways by far the more important. The first group is formed into a voluntary association of autonomous nations. Its overseas members, known as Dominions, exercise full sovereignty over their own affairs, except in the economic sphere, where the financial dominance of Britain imposes limitations. As a small, highly privileged clique it seeks and enjoys the semi-monopolistic exploitation of vast areas of colonial territory and vast populations of coloured colonial fellow subjects. This semi-monopoly is maintained by means of a constant threat to use the armed strength of the whole group against gate-crashing foreigners."

This passage gives the tone of Mr. Barnes' commentary. Its explanation is, perhaps, to be found in the centering of his interest in South Africa, where nearly all his first-hand experience was gathered. He has an intense sympathy with the South African natives and finds many grounds for cogent criticism of the attitude towards them of white South Africa. Having seen that the dominant race has often been ruthless towards the subject race in the only Dominion where there is a great colour problem, he makes the mistake of extending his protest to the other Dominions. What is more, he carries his hostility into his treatment of quite other subjects and pursues it until he is landed in self-contradiction. The Empire, in his view, is a contrivance for exploiting colonial races. Flag and trade advance one another. That is what he argues at one moment. In another connection he disputes the help to trade of imperial possessions. "In a capitalist society we all live by taking in one another's washing; in a colonial society nobody has any washing to send out."

The only merit he does not deny, at some time or other, to the British world system is a measure of political success. "The British Commonwealth," he admits, "as distinct from the British Empire, does, on its purely political side, embody a useful experiment in building up an international association on a basis of freedom and equality, and there is in theory no reason why its scope should be permanently restricted to the Commonwealth's present membership, or indeed, why the political life of even present members should be moulded to the constitutional forms now accepted as essential." That is well said. Mr. Barnes' work would deserve a more attentive study if the same temper inspired a larger part of it. The world-wide British realm is one of the major facts in history. It has lasted long and shows no signs of dissolution. These facts indicate that it is built on deep and strong foundations and serves great purposes. Mr. Barnes is

not objective enough to recognise their full importance. None the less his pages are instructive. A vigorous critic does good service, if only in compelling the defence to examine and state the strength of its case.

A Pilgrimage of Ideas. By Sherwood Eddy. (Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. Sherwood Eddy is a remarkable man. He retains at sixty-three all the zest of a boy. After more than forty years spent in observant wandering about the world he still gazes with enthusiasm "on the never full, eternal mundane spectacle." He is convinced the present is the most wonderful age in history. He sees the American people turning from the headlong, anarchic accumulation of wealth to the deliberate control of their collective life. He sees Russia building up from the foundations a new social system. He sees Great Britain transforming a world empire into a world partnership of equal nations. He sees Asia freeing itself from European domination and developing a characteristic Asiatic future out of the Asiatic past. And all the time, he goes on himself growing in a growing world, and still remaining typically the best kind of American of the typical American Middle West.

Dr. Sherwood Eddy's book cannot be read without a liking for its author and interest in what he has to say. It also commands respect. He is open-minded and well-informed. He is a tourist and a conductor of tourist parties. But he has visited the countries about which he writes so often, and lived in them so long, and watched their life with such alert eyes, and talked so intimately with their leading men and women, that he is well guarded against almost all mistakes except those of his own gusto. Perhaps he is a shade too optimistic. The forces of reason are not as near a final victory as he thinks. They are fighting more obstinate enemies than he confesses. But hope is the most easily forgiven and the most useful of errors. Dr. Sherwood Eddy refuses to admit that all is lost unless the United States joins the League of Nations, of which happy step he sees no prospect in the near future. But he is convinced that the League system, perhaps in an amended form, is assured of success and will gain some day world-wide adhesion.

An Atlas of European History from the 2nd to the 20th Century. By J. F. Horrabin. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Horrabin has devised a new method of appealing to a new public. He is a cartographer with a gift for the essential. Imitating the artist of Rodin's definition, he takes a continent or a country, leaves out everything he does not want, and there's his map. His systematic exclusion produces results which are illuminating for plain folk who have been apt to find geography and history no better than impenetrable mazes. Thanks to Mr. Horrabin, anyone who cares can now, at the cost of 3s. 6d., find his historic bearings at a glance. He can survey the Roman Empire or the Europe of the early Middle Ages, when the heritage of Charlemagne had broken up, not into two kingdoms of France and Germany, but into three—West, Middle and East—with results that still have their influence in Franco-German relations: or the England of Canute, when it was only a part of a far-flung Danish empire ringing the North

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Sea: or the England of Henry II and his sons, which was a province of a predominantly French realm: or the historic trading cities of Europe, North and South, when threads of common interest were spun extending far beyond national boundaries: or the growth of Russia, the colossus of East and West: or the coming of the Turks: or the rebirth of the Balkan nations. Mr. Horrabin's Atlas makes the story of Europe comprehensible and puts reality into it, even when read in a brief summary. Without his aid it might remain much less clear even after the reading of many large and learned volumes.

From Empire to a Commonwealth of Nations. By C. Midgley, M.Sc. (A. Wheaton & Co., Ltd., Paternoster Press, Exeter. 2s.)

Mr. Midgley's first volume, in a series of "sketch maps and picture histories," intended for pupils of 11 to 15 years of age, deserves a welcome. It is an excellent example of the up-to-date text book, concise and clear and admirably illustrated. The pictures have been chosen skilfully to present a constant variety of interest and always to help an understanding of the letterpress. Mr. Midgley is especially happy in depicting the stages of British exploration and settlement in Canada, Africa and Australasia. He conveys the thrill of adventure in such a way that every imaginative boy and girl must delight to respond. The many-sidedness of the Empire is one lesson which its readers cannot miss; another is that the British World Commonwealth of Nations still offers opportunities to enterprise and courage.

Qualités et Tendances. By M. Paul Dupays. (Le Rouge at Le Noir, Paris. 2s.)

The campaign for the enlistment of public interest in different countries. On the Continent of Europe the supply of texts varies from the adequate to the scarcely perceptible. Because of this hampering state of affairs, the work of M. Paul Dupays excites special interest. "Qualités et Tendances" is in some sort an introduction. It is a rapid and lively survey of human nature, leading up to an assessment of the moral qualities at the basis of all active and healthy social life. His calculated simplicity of expression enables the author to wing many a pointed comment to the centre of his target.

M. Dupays is about to produce another book dealing more directly with the League, putting the case for the collective system in the way most attractive to the French mind. Not only French readers are likely to find it instructive.

New Union Publications

- Christian Churches and the League of Nations.** 1d.
Problem of the Air: Report of the L.N.U. Conference on Aviation as an International Problem. 6d.
Social and Economic Planning: Report of the L.N.U. Conference on Social and Industrial Questions. 6d.
Coal. (The League and Working Conditions in the Mines.) 3d.
British Foreign Policy. (A Speech by the Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, Lord Privy Seal.) 1d.
Modern Language Teaching in Relation to World Citizenship. 6d.

Official League Publications

- Financial Position of Austria in the First Quarter of 1935.** (C.155. M.84. 1935. II.) (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. II.A.4.) 20 pages. 9d. net.
Fourteenth Quarterly Report by the representative of the League in Austria.
Financial Position of Hungary in the First Quarter of 1935. (C.162. M.88. 1935. II.A.) (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. II.A.5.) 19 pages. 9d. net.
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From all Booksellers, or from Rider & Co., Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

READERS' VIEWS

JUSTICE FOR GERMANY

SIR,—The notes in this month's HEADWAY on Germany and the Versailles Treaty are profoundly disappointing. Now, when a Conservative M.P., fresh from the hustings, has had the courage—to his eternal honour—to denounce that monument of hypocrisy and imbecility, one is shocked to find HEADWAY still timidly protesting that there is some sort of moral authority about that highwayman's agreement. Is there no moral philosopher who will tell us whether a treaty signed under duress is binding upon the victim or not, whether the dictator keeps his pledges or not? Has the League censured France and Poland for refusing to disarm?

Have any dictated treaties ever been kept after the victim felt strong enough to repudiate them, except in the classic example of Regulus? Was there ever an instance of such absolute futility as the efforts of our statesmen since the War to restore security to Europe? You can't build security on hypocrisy, injustice, revenge, and greed.

The vilest criminal is entitled to a fair trial. Give Germany a fair trial for her alleged crimes. The tribunal is in existence at the Hague; begin the reign of the Prince of Peace in justice and judgment (see Isaiah ix. 7). Sir John Simon goes to and fro in the earth, like Noah's raven, with much the same result. Mr. Anthony Eden does seem to have brought a solitary olive leaf to Noah Ramsay.

It is sometimes objected that a trial of enquiry would lead to endless recrimination. Not so. The only way to prevent endless recrimination would be by the verdict of an impartial and well-informed tribunal.

The humiliation of being beaten was quite as much as the Germans could bear, without being driven completely mad by our extortions. Now we have a mad nation on our hands, thanks to our rulers' ignorance of what human nature can bear and remain sane.

Yeovil.

C. PITHER.

THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT

SIR,—As a member of the League and a reader of HEADWAY, may I offer a suggestion?

Germany is once more, as in 1913, bursting with suppressed energy and emotion, feverishly piling up bombs and guns.

Will HEADWAY use its great opportunity to turn this "war energy" into safer and happier channels by turning men's hearts and thoughts to works of peace, to foster the life of the spirit?

The Germans are an industrious and emotional people, with great musical talent, very easily swayed and led. Once more their gifts and talents are being misdirected and exploited by warmongers. This energy and vitality, which should be producing music, art, literature, is being excited to a frenzied production of—death.

What a man thinks he eventually becomes. Peace is not brought about by discussing war in any form, but by seeking after truth and beauty.

Will HEADWAY light the torch of true civilisation in Europe?

I suggest a Universal Arts Exhibition, promoted by the League of Nations Union—an international competition in art, embracing all nations, white and coloured, with prizes and awards.

Competitions would start in hamlets and villages all over the world, to be judged by great artists only. The best works would go up to the local town competition. The best of these would then go to the county town, and the best again to the chief cities. The cities of

Europe would submit all their best works to the great International Exhibition, to which the eyes of the world would be directed.

The Victorians discovered this means of peace-making in their Great Exhibitions. Such exhibitions died not because they were not run for the true love of art. Nevertheless, they served their purpose, giving to the masses of the commercial world something to live for, something to work for, a constructive and productive interest in life.

The final competitions could be held with great pomp and ceremony, annually, in all capital cities.

Berlin for Music; Paris for Drama; Rome for Painting; London for Literature and Architecture.

Other capitals for science, home industries, etc., etc. Let us re-discover and cherish such beauty as still remains—lest we forget—and our few remaining artists and wise men disappear.

"Science is a search for truth, art is the effort made by man to express beauty. Science and art are the constituent parts of all true civilisation."

"ANNON."

KEEP FAITH!

SIR,—"Faith must be kept," says HEADWAY. Did the Allies keep faith when they tore up the "Fourteen Points" Armistice and produced the Treaty of Versailles? Or when they committed the unspeakable crime of continuing the Blockade?

It is time that serious people stopped talking cant, faced facts, and began to think about the only kind of Peace obtainable—one based on justice and human kindness.

Willesden.

M. A. PRATT.

"HEADWAY" AND THE JUBILEE.

SIR,—It is with a deep sense of shame and regret that one at least of the regular readers of HEADWAY notes that the words "King" and "Empire" do not appear once in either of your issues of April or May in connection with the Jubilee.

I do not suppose that in the whole Empire there is a single other British journal of repute the editor of which has not paid respectful tribute to His Majesty King George V on his Silver Jubilee.

Why is HEADWAY an exception? You have forgotten your Royal Charter. Are you not one of "my very dear people" to whom our King broadcast his Jubilee message to the Empire? Have not the words "King" and "Empire" the same significance to you and your Executive Committee as to the whole British people? If this is not in the "policy" of the Union, is it surprising that the Union is not popular with the British public, and that HEADWAY is not to be found on our bookstalls? There is, in fact, no demand for it, nor will there be until you find an "antidote" to this "poison."

I do not expect an answer to these questions, but I reserve the right to make what use I choose of this letter and of your reply—if, indeed, you have one.

Stratton Croft, ALEXANDER GORDON.
Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.

[NOTE.—Sir Alexander Gordon is distressed without cause. Persuaded that no preliminary comment of its own was necessary for the complete success of the Jubilee, which in any case was assured, HEADWAY postponed its Jubilee articles to the most appropriate time. They now appear with His Majesty's speeches as their text. What any journal might say about the King's reign was little

likely to be as well worth hearing as what the King would say to his people. Events have justified that estimate of relative values. In the present number of HEADWAY is reproduced the illuminated address presented by the League of Nations Union to His Majesty.]

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

SIR,—In your issue for May, the month of the King's Jubilee, you display, in the most prominent position, a cartoon by Louis Raemakers of Saint George as a militarist forcing war on a poor starving Asiatic. May I remind you that Saint George is Patron Saint of England, the symbol of all that is noblest and bravest in the English people, and that he is also revered by large numbers of Christians in other lands? Why go out of your way to insult the sacred loyalties of so many possible supporters of the L.N.U.? Mr. Raemakers may be neither an Englishman nor a Christian, but that is no reason why he should be allowed to disgust a large section of your readers. Apart from the question of good taste it is hardly good business.

R. H. DOUGLAS.

The Vicarage, Langton Green,
Tunbridge Wells.

[NOTE.—Our correspondent is wrong on every point. St. George appears in the cartoon because he is the Patron Saint of England. He represents England, not "forcing war" on anyone, but safeguarding peace. He is confronting not an Asiatic but the Dragon of Anarchy. The Dragon, defeated in the West, tries to carry on his evil work in the East. St. George follows him. "Peace is indivisible." If our correspondent will look at the cartoon again he will see that it is a tribute to England as the chief champion of world peace.—EDITOR.]

UNION POSTERS

SIR,—Travelling about the country, I have noticed that posters, apparently displayed by branches of the L.N.U., are frequently dirty, torn, or are advertising some event that has taken place some time previously.

This, I suggest, is not to the credit of the Union; in fact, it is calculated to do harm. May I, therefore, make the following suggestions:—

1. That posters should be replaced at least once a month, and more often if they get in any way disfigured.

2. That a member of the Branch Committee be appointed to look after the boards and see that they are kept in proper condition.

Now that cheap and effective posters can be obtained from Headquarters, from the London Regional Federation, from the Friends Peace Committee, and other sources, branches might well make fuller use of this method of publicity.

26, Downside Crescent, N.W.3. W. T. PRITCHARD.

ACCIDENTAL DEATHS

SIR,—In your January issue, Joan Adamson expresses approval of national forces for the maintenance of order because they only use force against suspects. She objects to an international force because it would punish non-suspects also. Surely those who support their Government in starting a war are no less guilty than those who take part in a rebellion, although both may be led by unscrupulous leaders to believe that they are acting in self-defence.

A national force does not intentionally punish the innocent family of a rebel leader. Why should an international force intentionally punish those who have refused to support their Government in aggression? Accidental deaths are liable to occur in both cases.

Minbu, Burma.

W. L. ROSEVEARE.

GOOD NEWS FROM ABROAD

(8) THE SCRIPTURES IN FRANCE

The connexion between the Bible Society and France goes back to 1805, for it was in that year that the Society distributed copies of the Scriptures among French prisoners-of-war in England and subsidized Continental Societies which printed French Testaments for circulation in France. The Agency of the British and Foreign Bible Society was first established in 1820, when a depot was opened in Paris.

Last year there were circulated in France under the auspices of the Bible Society 373,000 copies of Holy Writ, of which almost 100,000 were sold by eleven colporteurs and one Bible-woman.

It may not be generally realised that these Scriptures are issued in eighty different languages, the chief of which are French, German, Italian and Russian.

It was a famous Frenchman who said, "England has two books—one which she has made, and one which has made her: Shakespeare and the Bible." But we may give the remark a wider application and say that every nation that welcomes the Bible and seeks to follow its teaching is made by it.

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries.

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May it please Your Majesty

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION presents its humble duty to Your Majesty on the happy completion of the 25th year of Your Majesty's reign. # # ∞ # # ∞ # #

It gives thanks to Almighty God for Your Majesty's continued commendation of the cause of the League of Nations to all your loyal subjects, and, in particular for Your Majesty's gracious message to the Union itself and to its sister society in Canada. # #

WHEN the Union was inaugurated in October 1919 its first members drew encouragement from Your Majesty's words:—
Nothing is more essential than a strong and enduring League of Nations. Millions of British men and women, frequently conscious of all the sin and suffering caused by the brutal havoc of war, stand ready to help if only they be shown the way. # # # #

I commend the cause to all the citizens of my Empire, so that, with the help of all other men of goodwill, a buttress and a sure defence of Peace, to the glory of God and the lasting fame of our age and country may be established.

THE Union recalls with pride other proofs of Your Majesty's interest in its work. On October 26th, 1928 Your Majesty said:—
I appreciate the efforts of members of the League of Nations Union to educate public opinion in support of the League in which lies our chief hope for the future peace of the world. # # ∞ # # ∞ # # ∞ # #

ON October 27th, 1925 Your Majesty was graciously pleased to grant the Union your Royal Charter of incorporation. The Union has faithfully endeavoured to fulfil the three objects set before it by Your Majesty's Charter of securing the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations; of fostering mutual understanding, goodwill and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries; and of advocating the full development of the League. # # # #

THE Union will ever pray for the health, happiness and prosperity of Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen, that our King may long be spared to rule over all the peoples of his Empire and to lead the World in the way of Peace. # # ∞ # #

Cecil

President

Gilbert Murney

Chairman

Maxwell Farnell

Secretary